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A LETTER

TO

MR. WILBERFORCE,

On the deputation from the House of Commons to her most Gracious Majesty, the Queen.

London, June 30, 1820.

SIR,

It is now seventeen years since I first began to address myself to you. At that time you had done what I deemed to be greater mischief to this country than what had ever been done by any other one man, Pitt himself not excepted. You had taken a prominent part in the support of every measure, for many years previous to that, calculated to bring this once free and flourishing country into a state, and under a species of sway, which, as I even then foresaw and foretold, would lead to that ruin and beggary, in which we now live, and the final consequences of which, though they probably are at no great distance, it is impossible for any man to foresee. In every measure for curtailing the liberties of the people; in every

measure levelled against the press; in every measure for suspending the laws which give protection to our persons against arbitrary arrests; in every measure for protecting the Bank, as well at the stoppage in 1797 as afterwards; in every measure of this description, you had been a conspicuous actor; and in every measure, since that period, of the same description, you have been an actor not less conspicuous.

You have, in short, been a constant supporter of the system of Pitt and his followers. The effects of that system are now before us, and may be described in a very few words: the ruin of the middle ranks of society and the misery and almost starvation of the labouring classes; a paper currency that would render a political convulsion the most terrific event that the world ever witnessed, that would make the rich call upon the hills to cover them; that would send forth penniless millions to prowl about in search of food; that would level all law to the

earth, and would give predominance to physical force; that would produce scenes of desolation and devastation of misery and of anguish such as have never been anticipated except by him who has described the scenes which will happen on the day of judgment. And while such would inevitably be the consequences of a political convulsion, it is now acknowledged, even in parliament itself, that the system tends immediately to produce such a convulsion.

It is my most earnest desire to contribute my mite towards producing public tranquillity; towards putting an end, if possible, to that fearful agitation, which at present prevails, the prevalence of which every one clearly perceives; and which, if not put a stop to, will, in all human probability, lead to consequences such as no man with the feelings of common humanity about him, can view without apprehensions not easily to be described.

There were subjects enough of irritation before the arrival of her Majesty the Queen. It would have required, to quiet the public mind, even before this event, much more temper,

much more wisdom, and a spirit much more conciliatory than I have ever yet seen to prevail amongst those who had, and who yet have, the management of the nation's affairs. To that irritation, arising out of circumstances, where reason had to act its part, and as to which there was a difference of opinion amongst certain classes of the people; to that irritation is now added, irritation of a kind which swallows up all reasoning, and causes all differences of opinion as to other matters to be totally forgotten.

Those who were before contented with the present state of things; or, at least, were afraid of the consequences of openly joining with the discontented, have now, as to this matter, most cordially joined with those who before expressed their discontent.

Thus, with the exception of a few courtiers, the whole nation are united in most ardent wishes in favour of Her Majesty the Queen. Observe, too, that this is a matter in which the *women* take, if possible, a still more lively interest than the men; and, it never has been known that their feelings urge them on to active interference without there being sufficient cause, and

without that cause being finally crowned with success. Their decision, on great public questions, is always the right decision. They are less liable to be led astray by the vanity of argumentation; by party prejudices; by pledged opinions. The impressions which they receive are general. They are placed on their minds by something which prevades all ranks; they arise from an unprejudiced view of all the great points of a subject taken together as a whole. Their minds set sophistry, chicanery, and misrepresentation at defiance. Their opinions are imbibed in this way, which is like the way in which we acquire the knowledge of the existence of light and of darkness. What they believe in such a case *must be true*; and that which they say *ought to be done, must be done*.

This is a feature in the present great question, that ought by no means to be overlooked. If a case were to arise in which the whole of a man's circle of friends were of a particular opinion, as to any act which he had to perform, he would find it very difficult I believe to brace himself up to the resolution to set their combined opinions at nought; but what are the combined opinions of a man's circle of friends compared with the morning noon and night: the up-rising and down-lying, the every moment in the day influence of wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters; and that in a case, too, where a woman, an injured woman, and an injured Queen is a party in the dispute?

It is, however, notorious, that, from one end to the other of this populous kingdom, there is but one opinion as to this question, and that is, that her Majesty is innocent and injured: and one wish; and that is, that her Majesty should never more depart from this kingdom; and that she should here enjoy all and every one of her rights and privileges as Queen.

If there had existed any doubt in the public mind as to the innocence of her Majesty, and as to the falsehood of the charges against her, that doubt would have been removed at once, by the bare circumstance of those charges having been conveyed to the parliament in *Green Bags*. The people had not so soon forgotten the *Green Bags* of 1817. They had not so soon forgotten, that those Bags and their contents, formed the pretext for sending into dungeons a great number of men, who there lay for a long while enduring all the sufferings of imprisonment, separation from wives and children, loss of precious time while those wives and children were starving, loss of health, loss of reason in one instance producing suicide; and who were at last set at liberty, not only without ever being brought to trial; but, also without ever having had any charge exhibited against them in due form, and without knowing from first to last who had been their accuser! The people had not forgotten these things; they had not forgotten these consequences of the *Green Bags* of 1817; and, therefore, when they

saw *Green Bags* presented against her Majesty the Queen, an association of ideas instantly took place in their minds, leading at once to a conviction that the charges against her Majesty were groundless, and that injustice and cruelty were the objects of her foes.

The House of Commons appears to have perceived that this course; that is to say, the course of 1817, would not do upon this occasion. It appears to have wished to get rid of the thing by some means or other; and, if possible, by a seemingly voluntary surrender of rights, and particularly by exile, on the part of her Majesty. This produced a suspension of the proceedings, and a negotiation carried on between the ministers and her Majesty's lawyers. Upon that negotiation I have, in my last number, fully offered my opinion. The main object of it was to *induce her Majesty to quit the kingdom*, the fatal consequences of which to herself I have fully stated in that number. I now perceive, (and with infinite delight I perceive it) that it is stated, apparently with authority, in the newspapers, that her Majesty never authorised her law officers to say that she would on any account be induced to quit the kingdom. But it appears to have been thought by the House of Commons, and by yourself in particular, that, if the House explicitly expressed its wish for her Majesty to *yield*, she would yield accordingly; and that there the matter would end. In pursuance of this opinion, the

resolutions of Thursday, the 22d of June, were, upon your motion, agreed to by a very large majority of the House; and which resolutions, in order that I may not, by abridgment, misrepresent them, I here insert at full length.

“Resolved—That this House has
“learned, with unfeigned and deep
“regret, that the late endeavours to
“frame an arrangement which might
“avert the necessity of a public
“inquiry into the information laid
“before the two Houses of Parli-
“ament, have not led to that ami-
“cable adjustment of the existing dif-
“ference in the Royal Family, which
“was so anxiously desired by Parlia-
“ment and the nation.—That this
“House, fully sensible of the objec-
“tions which the Queen might justly
“feel to *taking upon herself* the relin-
“quishment of any points in which she
“might have conceived her own dig-
“nity and honour to be involved,
“yet feeling the inestimable import-
“ance of an amicable and final ad-
“justment of the present unhappy
“differences, cannot forbear declaring
“its opinion, that when *such large*
“advances have been made towards
“that object, her Majesty, by *yield-*
“*ing to the earnest solicitude of the*
“*House of Commons*, and forbearing
“to *press further* the adoption of
“those propositions on which any ma-
“terial difference of opinion yet re-
“mains, would by *no means be un-*
“*derstood to indicate any wish to*
“*shrink from inquiry*, but would
“only be deemed to afford a re-
“newed proof of the desire which her
“Majesty has been graciously pleased
“to express to submit her own wishes
“to the authority of Parliament;
“thereby entitling herself to the
“grateful acknowledgements of the
“House of Commons, and sparing
“this House the painful necessity of
“those public discussions which, *what-*
“*ever might be their ultimate result,*
“could not but be distressing to her
“Majesty's feelings—disappointing
“to the hopes of Parliament—*derog-*
“*atory from the dignity of the*
“*Crown, and injurious to the best*
“*interests of the empire.*”—Ordered,

that these resolutions be laid before her Majesty.—Ordered, That Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Sir T. Ackland, and Mr. Banks, do attend her Majesty with the said resolutions.

These resolutions are, perhaps, taken altogether, as surprising a document as ever was penned by mortal man. The second resolution tells her Majesty that, though there may be objections to the Queen's *taking upon herself* to relinquish the assertion of rights which she thought necessary to her dignity and honour, she may safely yield those rights when the yielding is now recommended by the *House of Commons!* So that the House here becomes a Court of *Honour*; and of *female honour*, too! That which might have left suspicions, if done without the advice of the House, could have no suspicions at all attending it, if done in pursuance of that advice! We know, Sir, how famed the Honourable House is for wisdom, for integrity, for impartiality, for humanity, and, above all, for purity. We are pretty sensible, too, of its power; but, with all due deference to this far-famed body of men, I have yet to learn that it has ever before interfered in matters of *casuistry*. It seems to me, that this was a matter peculiarly affecting the personal feelings of her Majesty; and that it must be decided on according to her own notions of female delicacy and honour. It seems to me that, to have been capable of guiding her Majesty rightly as to a matter of this sort, something like a power of granting *dispensa-*

tions and indulgencies ought to have been possessed by the House. If I were accused of any crime, no matter what, should I feel at ease, think you, if the House of Commons were to declare *it's opinion*, that my getting rid of the charge by yielding some known right of mine; should I feel at ease, think you; should I, when I had yielded this right, feel perfectly at ease as to my character? Should I be satisfied, that the *opinion* of the House of Commons had white-washed me in the eyes of the world? There is no accounting for tastes: there may be many persons who would like to have that opinion to keep them in countenance in such a case; but for my part, so help me God, I would much rather that my acts should be performed without the sanction of that opinion!

If one might venture to put a question upon a resolution passed by the House of Commons, one might ask what those "*large advances*" were, which the resolution says had been made during the negotiation? Look into the papers, and you will find that the ministers made no advances at all, except in the single instance of offering a *yacht*, or a *man of war*, to carry *her Majesty out of the country*. These were all the advances that were made; and I have no doubt, that, if her Majesty would have consented to depart, there would have been advances enough of every description.

In the making of bargains it is sometimes said, "*price shall not part us;*" and this is what

her Majesty said upon the present occasion; but her adversaries were ready to say, price shall not keep us together. Fortunately for the honour of the country, and, indeed, for the honour of the Royal Family; fortunately for the House of Brunswick, her Majesty had no inclination to compound. She stood upon her innocence and her honour, and could clearly perceive, that, to yield her rights was to abandon her character.

We now come to consider the answer which her Majesty gave to the resolutions of which you and your brother deputies were the bearers; and which answer was in the following words:—

“ I am bound to receive with gratitude any attempt on the part of the House of Commons to interpose its high mediation for the purpose of healing those unhappy differences in the Royal Family, which no person has so much reason to deplore as myself. And with perfect truth I can declare, that an entire reconciliation of those differences, effected by the authority of Parliament, on principles consistent with the honour and dignity of all the parties, is still the object dearest to my heart.—I cannot refrain from expressing my deep sense of the affectionate language of these resolutions; it shows the House of Commons to be the faithful representative of that generous people, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid.—I am sensible, too, that I expose myself to the risk of displeasing those who may soon be the judges of my conduct; but I trust to their candour, and their sense of honour, confident that they will enter into the feelings which alone influence my determination.—It would ill become me to question the power of Parliament, or the mode in which it may at any time be exercised: but, however strongly I may feel the necessity of submitting to its authority, the question whether I will

“ make myself a party to any measure proposed must be decided by my own feelings and conscience, and by them alone. As a subject of the state, I shall bow with deference—if possible, without a murmur, to every act of the sovereign authority: but, as an accused and injured Queen, I owe it to the King, myself, and all my fellow-subjects, not to consent to the sacrifice of any essential privilege, or withdraw my appeal to those principles of public justice, which are alike the safeguard of the highest and the humblest individual.”

In this answer the advice of the House of Commons is rejected, but in as gentle terms as it was possible for a rejection to be conveyed. The *public* (who must not be left out of sight in this case) had rejected the advice, on behalf of her Majesty, long before the resolutions reached her. This subject is of such great importance; of such deep and general interest, and will become so conspicuous in the history of these eventful times, that every circumstance connected with it is worthy of notice; and, therefore, I shall mention here what has been stated in different public prints, respecting the transactions in Portman Street, on Saturday the 24th of June, when you and your brother deputies went to present the resolutions to her Majesty. It is stated that you and Mr. Stewart Wortley went in one carriage; that Sir Thomas Ackland followed in another; and that Mr. Banks in a third brought up the rear: that you were most graciously received by her Majesty, and were permitted to kneel and kiss her hand, upon which I congratulate you with all my heart, and I here

perceive the only enjoyment of yours that I ever could be induced to envy. This happiness was, however, it appears, not without alloy; for the public prints say, that, all the while you were in the house, the people in the street kept crying, "*turn them out*;" and making use of other expressions very little flattering to the deputation. It is further said by these prints that, when the first carriage drew up in order to prepare for your return, a most dreadful rush, accompanied with expressions which I do not choose to put upon paper, was made by the people towards the door of the first carriage, into which you all four jumped with great agility! It is stated that her Majesty's law officers conducted you and saw you safely into the carriage; and that Mr. Brougham, after having left you, returned to the door of the carriage and *shook hands* with some of you, for the purpose, as the Morning Chronicle says, "*of convincing the people that you ought to be treated with respect*!" Good God! Pray, Sir, excuse this exclamation! Is it really come to this? Was it necessary for the Queen's law officers to give, in this way, a sort of certificate, or passport to a deputation from the Great House of Commons; the Omnipotent House of Commons; telling the people that that deputation, chosen from the bosom of the House, *ought to be treated with respect*. There is, you know Sir, a law to *banish* us; not only to fine and imprison us; but to banish us, if we write or

publish any thing *tending* to bring the House into *contempt*. Alas! Sir; and, alas! again I say. This memorable visit to her Majesty the Queen seems to have done a great deal more than fifty writers would have been able to do in the whole course of their lives.

It seems, however, from what we read in the papers, that Mr. Brougham's friendly efforts were wholly unavailing; for that your ears were assailed, till beyond hearing the voices of the people, with sounds little gratifying to you; and that, swift as was the motion of your carriage, your *Court dresses* received from the mouths of the unmannerly and "rabid animals" a considerable portion of that matter which Mr. Brougham, in his speech of the 7th of June, was pleased to represent as more dangerous than the bite!

It is truly painful to contemplate this scene! To behold four of the *elect* treated in this manner; and the only consolation is, that, in all human probability, you will never again be exposed to the risk of so rude and so unsavory a reception. This reception, whatever else might belong to it, was well calculated to give your minds a new turn. It was well calculated to convince you, that the people were not precisely of the same way of thinking as the House of Commons upon this subject; and that, in spite of the *six acts*, there are still left means of expressing the opinions of the people in a very significant manner.

As to the answer which her Majesty gave to the Resolution

of the House; all that the people could have wished it to contain *more* than it did contain, was, a distinct expression of her Majesty's resolution *not to quit this kingdom*. There can be no doubt that the object of the Resolution was to induce her Majesty to consent *to leave the country*; and this is, in my opinion, the only thing which could be ruinous to that illustrious and persecuted personage. Those who prevailed upon her to quit the country before, were the bitterest enemies she ever had. It must have been clear to those persons that her steps would be dogged; that spies would be continually placed around her; that the same means would be made use of upon the Continent that had been made use of against her in England; only a thousand times greater in degree and with tools infinitely better suited to the purpose. I have proved, in my last number; I have proved as clear as day-light, that, if her Majesty were to turn her back upon England now, she would turn her back, not only upon character and upon peace of mind, but that she would turn her back even upon the means of purchasing food and raiment. I have shown what an outrageous act it would be to send a sum of money, raised upon the fruits of English labour, to be spent out of the country, and that, too, by a person who was thought unworthy to be suffered to live in the country.

I am of opinion that the public think with me upon this subject; and yet, the resolutions

presented to her Majesty had manifestly in view the object of inducing her to take this fatal step. If her Majesty had listened to the advice contained in that resolution; if she had implicitly submitted to the wish of the House upon this occasion, there is no doubt in my mind, that other resolutions would have followed; and that, little by little, she would have been resolved out of all her rights and privileges, and finally, out of England itself. Her Majesty put a stop, at once, to this mode of proceeding; and, in so doing, she has given infinite satisfaction to the country. Let us now turn to the Parliament and observe what has taken place, in consequence of this untractableness on the part of her Majesty.

The Ministers had laid the Green Bags upon the tables. They had suspended their operations with regard to these bags, in consequence of wishes indicated by the House of Commons, that negotiations should be entered into with her Majesty. These negotiations fail. The Ministers then come, and, with a Majority at their back, tender an opinion to her Majesty in the name of the House of Commons, that she may, without injury to her character, accept of the terms which had been offered her; that is to say, to go abroad and live abroad, and have a maintenance sent from this country. The Queen objects to the adopting of this opinion; and then, the ministers proceed with the bags; or, at least, with one of them. If

the Queen had consented to go abroad, the bags were not to be opened; but since she would not consent to that, they were to be opened! This speaks volumes to the nation. It, at once clearly shows what was the great object of the threat at St. Omers and of the bags in London. It is impossible to remove from the public mind the impression which this is calculated to imprint on it, and which it has imprinted on it. We are told that the bags contain most horrible accusations; yet, all these were to be sunk for ever, and we, out of our labour, were to give a princely income to the person against whom these accusations were preferred, if that person would but consent to go and live out of the country!

This, which is the greatest point of all, *the opposers of the Ministers* do not seem to have paid any attention to. This is the great matter in which the people feel concern. This is a matter of extreme importance; and yet no one, with the sole exception of Sir Francis Burdett, has taken any notice of it. A great deal has been said about the danger to the morals of the nation. A great deal about the delicate feelings of wives and daughters; and these are well worthy of attention; but, is not a great sum of money to be spent annually, raised from the labour of an almost starving people; is not this a matter worthy of attention? Yet, as far as I can perceive, those who are aiming at place, as well as those who are in place, think very little about this matter,

provided the residence abroad could be accomplished.

The resolution conveyed to her Majesty, contained this declaration of the House of Commons; namely, that an investigation of the contents of the bags, *let what would be the result of that investigation, must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the nation.* In this resolution the Ministers concurred; for this resolution, the Ministers voted; and, in this resolution they said, we have laid some bags upon the tables; we have moved for an investigation of the contents of those bags; we know that that investigation must, of necessity, be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the nation; and, therefore, we know that we have done that which is calculated to injure our master and the nation. And yet, after all this, these same ministers have a majority to support them in the House of Commons; amongst those very same men, to whom they have made this explicit declaration, and in which declaration these same men have concurred!

But, as if all this were not enough, they have still a Majority, amongst these same men, when they afterwards declare, that they will go on with the investigation. After having passed the resolution, upon which I have been observing, they come and declare that they will proceed with the inquiry; and, upon their making that declaration, the very same men,

who had joined them in solemnly declaring, that the inquiry, let what would be the result of it, *must be injurious to the best interests of the nation*; these very same men, upon the ministers declaring that they will go into the investigation, still stick to them, and still give them their thumping majority!

Well then, sir, surely her Majesty may be excused for taking the liberty to believe that the House of Commons does not possess the quality of *absolute infallibility*; and that her Majesty may hope to be pardoned by the rest of mankind for not having totally surrendered up her understanding and her sense of female honour upon the mere expression of the opinion of that House.

The debate of Monday the 26th of June, upon her Majesty's answer given to you and to the other three worthy deputies of the House, will be remembered as long as that House shall have an existence. I have inserted, in the way of appendix to this letter, the speeches of Lord Castlereagh and of Mr. Brougham, delivered that day, and of Sir Francis Burdett delivered on the 22d. It is impossible to say precisely what Lord Castlereagh meant further than that he meant that there should be a proceeding in the investigation. Sir Francis Burdett took the straight view of the matter. This speech has produced great impression; and that impression will remain during the whole of these discussions. In the mean while, proceedings have, it

seems, been commenced in the House of Lords. The Green Bag has there been opened; and, in due time, we may expect to see the report. Her Majesty has, at every stage, protested against this secret mode of proceeding. Upon every occasion her protests have been treated with silent contempt; and there are not a few persons who think that her Majesty ought to have given *no answer at all* to the resolutions sent to her from the House of Commons; and that, if she had deigned to give an answer, it ought to have been simply to observe, with surprize, that, though her Majesty might by any persons of common feeling, be thought an object of condolence in consequence of the great losses she had sustained; though she had recently become Queen; though she had recently returned to the kingdom; though she had still more recently sent a message to the House, complaining of injuries and insults; yet, she had never heard a word from the House, upon any subject whatever, till it thought proper, very kindly to come and voluntarily offer her its opinion that she might safely surrender her rights! This is the sort of answer, which I would have advised her Majesty to give; and I am very certain, that, as it would have been impossible for any just man to find fault with it; so it would have given infinite satisfaction to the public.

The proceedings upon the Green Bag may now take their course. My sincere opinion is,

that her Majesty ought to feel no interest with regard to them. The contents of the bag have been characterised by Mr. Brougham; but the public did not stand in need even of that. The charges being *in a Bag*: that was enough for the public. Their being submitted to a committee selected by the ministers; and that committee being a secret one; these circumstances were not necessary to enable the public to make up their minds as to the contents of the Bag. The bare circumstance of the charges having been brought in a bag, together with her Majesty's frank and heroic conduct, was quite enough to make the public come to a conclusion upon the matter.

The public recollect the history of the former investigation. There was then a *secret* commission; and even that commission could find nothing to criminate her Majesty. Crafty advisers obtained her Majesty's consent, to suppress the publication of the evidence laid before that commission. At last, however, it came out, and all the world declared her accusers to be perfidions and perjured; and the Attorney-General apologized for not prosecuting the perjured parties, saying, that there were difficulties in the way interposed by forms of law. He said, in his place in the House of Commons, that there had been perjury committed; but that, technical difficulties prevented him from reaching it!

The public remember these things, and remembering them, remembering too, how weak,

how destitute of power and of pecuniary resources the Queen's enemies of that day were, compared with her enemies of this day; leaving in mind, too, what a wretched, what a rascally, what a vagabond people it is, amongst whom the witnesses, upon the present occasion, must have been found; recollecting that the SAVOYARDS are notoriously the lowest and basest part of the population of Europe, recollecting that *Savoyard* and *Chimney-sweep*, are synonymous terms, in French, in Spanish, and in German; recollecting, further, that a Savoyard priest may always be at hand to quiet the soul of a Savoyard perjurer, a score of whom may, probably, at any time, be purchased with double the number of dollars: the public, bearing all these things in mind, are fully prepared for any thing and for every thing that can come forth from sources which have been so amply described in the speeches in Parliament, and in the public papers of the day. Sir Francis Burdett said that, if the contents of the Bag covered her Majesty with stains; she would be in the eyes of the people, as white as snow. With the public, therefore, the contents of the bags are not at all a subject of interest; and it would, in my opinion, be most becoming in the Queen to treat this sort of proceeding against her with silent disdain; unless, indeed, her Majesty chose to go, in *person*, to the House of Lords and protest, once for all, against such proceedings.

It is impossible for us to know

what course the proceedings may take; how long, or how short, may be their duration. But, in the meanwhile, it is evident that her Majesty ought to pursue the most vigorous measures for obtaining her legal rights. Her Majesty has been told by the Ministers, that, indeed, which she knew well before, and that which it was really an insult to tell her, namely, that her rights and privileges as Queen were given her by law, and, that she must keep them until they were abrogated by law; and that they would give her some money if she would refrain from exercising them and go abroad. Her Majesty will not go abroad; and I trust that she will *not refrain from exercising her rights and privileges*.

It is perfectly monstrous to suppose that her Majesty's rights and privileges, or any particle of them, ought to be withheld, even for a day, merely because the ministers have chosen to fill a bag with what they call charges against her Majesty. If, upon a pretext like this, the Queen's rights and privileges are to be *suspended in their exercise*, why may her Majesty not, at once, bid an everlasting farewell to those rights and privileges? The trial of Mr. Hastings lasted more than seven years; and who will say that the Savoyard Budget might not, with very little difficulty, be kept replenished for seven times seven years? This may be Savoyard law, but it is not yet English law. The law of England proceeds in a man-

ner directly the opposite of this. It demands *proof of guilt first*, and then proceeds to inflict punishment. It does not first inflict punishment, by withholding rights and privileges, and then proceed to demand proof of guilt. The existence of charges, therefore, is no ground whatever for suspending, for one single moment, the enjoyment of even the smallest portion of her Majesty's rights and privileges; to enter upon the full possession, and to the full exercise of which, ought, it seems to me, to be the first object of her Majesty's efforts.

As to the species of support that her Majesty has to rely upon, it is now very evident that the political opponents of the ministers do not mean to attempt any thing for her Majesty, except just as far as it may serve their own selfish and ambitious views. It is equally evident that her Majesty's reliance must be on the good sense, the virtue, the justice and the loyalty of his Majesty's subjects at large. Here her Majesty has support, which is able to carry her through every persecution; and it would be monstrous to suppose that the wishes of a whole people should not, in the cause of an injured and innocent Queen, and in the cause of his Majesty himself, finally prevail.

The conduct of her Majesty has been such as greatly to endear her to the people; who feel alarmed at every step which would seem to say that she is disposed to yield any portion of her rights. This alarm

in the minds of the people, arises, not from any doubts which they entertain, with regard either to her Majesty's innocence or courage; but from their fears that selfish and crafty persons, by the like of whom her Majesty has been so often deceived, and has been made the stepping-stone to riches, power and honours, may yet contrive to obtain from her generosity, concessions which they have been unable to obtain from her fears.

Such selfish and crafty persons may endeavour to persuade her Majesty, that she ought to keep herself in *retirement*; that she ought to *shun the people*; that it is *beneath* her even to shew herself to the people; that it is to *lower her own dignity* to appear to be grateful to the people. Her Majesty's sad experience; her long endurance of injury in silence; these will, it is hoped, be quite sufficient to prove to her Majesty the folly or the insincerity of advice of this description. There can be no loss of dignity in being beloved and admired by a just and sensible people; nor in showing to such a people that her Majesty is fully sensible of all the marks she receives of that love and admiration.

The persons who would, by their advice, keep her Majesty at a distance from the people, are, in my opinion, the *only enemies* that her Majesty has to dread. Such counsellors wish to see her Majesty have no support from the people, in order that they themselves may become her pretended supporters,

and may raise themselves, in the end, upon her Majesty's ruin.

The zeal, the ardour, the anxiety, which the people feel in her Majesty's cause, are wholly without a parallel. Persons entirely dependent upon the government have, upon this occasion, lost sight of their own interests, and even of their own safety, for the sake of her Majesty. Every brave man in the kingdom has a heart devoted to her cause. And, under such circumstances, her Majesty can never be too forward to prove that she is not insensible to attachment so great and so rare.

It is very clear that the enemies of her Majesty hope that they shall gain by delay; by first putting forth serious accusations; by giving them something like *legal form*; and then leaving as much as possible to be done by *whispers*, by rumours, and by all that train of proceeding which we call *underhand dealings*. They think that, after long agitation, the public mind will become *weary*; that the public spirit will evaporate, and that the people will be weaned from her Majesty's cause by degrees. All these things occur to her Majesty's enemies, who are by no means destitute in point of cunning, and who will lay wait for her, and will take some sudden and decisive step against her, when her Majesty may be off her guard, and when her friends have been lulled to repose.

Therefore, it is my opinion that her Majesty should lose very little time, before she take some open

and decisive step in the assertion of her rights and privileges; and not wait patiently till the good pleasure of her enemies shall permit her to do so. If her Majesty look back and cast her eye over the history of her tribulations she will find that, as those tribulations have succeeded each other, each successive one has grown out of the preceding one; and that, in every case, she has suffered, not for her pertinacity in adhering to her rights, but for her facility in listening to selfish advisers who prevailed upon her to yield them; and which advisers regularly profited from the very things which were injurious to her Majesty. She first yielded to the importunities of those who prevailed upon her to suppress the exposure of the infamous acts, committed against her in, and previous to, 1806. She was then told not to insist upon the exposure; because it would be painful to the feelings of the Royal Family in general, and especially of the late King. She generously yielded; but the reward of such unexampled generosity was a series of underhand endeavours to defame and to ruin her. In 1812, she gave up her right of holding Drawing Rooms, though the right so clearly belonged to her. This the public would never have endured if the exposure of her enemies had taken place in 1806. Having abstained from exercising this right in 1812, the late Queen held Drawing Rooms in 1814, and from them her present Majesty was excluded. Her Majesty, might,

if she had chosen, have gone to the Drawing Rooms in 1814; and to those Drawing Rooms she ought to have gone. She was advised to desist from going, in order not to give pain to the feelings of the late Queen. Whether the late Queen ever discovered a similar tenderness for the feelings of her present Majesty, I am unable to state; but, it is clear that this was a most generous act on the part of her present Majesty; and for this act her reward has been that which we have seen.

Mr. CANNING speaks of the *unsuspecting nature* of her Majesty. Well he may! For who would not have suspected the adviser, that counselled her to keep from those Drawing Rooms; and that soon afterwards counselled her to quit that country which was the only place in the whole world, where her character, or even her life, could be in safety? Surely, after all this experience, her Majesty, in spite of her unsuspecting nature, must regard those as her enemies, who would *counsel her to yield to further concessions*; and especially after those brutal, those ferocious enemies, have uniformly ascribed every concession of her Majesty to consciousness of guilt. To concede further, under such circumstances, would argue not only a want of a sense of dignity; a want of any portion of that resolution for which her Majesty has recently so distinguished herself, but a total want of common understanding.

Therefore, Sir, notwithstanding the opinion so kindly communicated to her Majesty by the

House of Commons; be you well assured that her Majesty will make no further concessions; that her Majesty will do her best to enter upon the exercise of her rights and privileges; and that, in so doing, she will give pleasure to every man and woman who has a regard for honour and justice.

It is your opinion, as expressed in your speech of the 26th of June, that her Majesty may travel very comfortably without her name being put in the Liturgy. Her Majesty, I dare say, thanks you as much as if she were going to travel; but, to our great delight, we find that her Majesty does not mean to travel beyond the confines of this kingdom, where she is so ardently beloved; and where, as Mr. CANNING truly observed, she is calculated to be the *life and the ornament of society*. Her Majesty does not mean to rob us of this life and ornament. She means to live at home and participate with us in the lot that Providence has in store for us; and be you well assured, Sir, notwithstanding all that has been said, and so unjustly said in certain places about *disaffection* and *disloyalty*, there can arise no circumstances; there can come no event; there can happen nothing; neither distress, misery, or any other cause of disturbance or commotion can ever make one single Englishman, Scotchman or Irishman, indisposed to venture his own life for the protection of this long-injured and insulted Queen. The only subject of great anxiety and fear with the people

has been that her Majesty would, from the unsuspectingness of her character, be persuaded to withdraw herself from beyond the reach of that protection. It is the firm conviction of the whole body of the people, that, if she were out of this kingdom, her very life would not be safe for a month. And why should they think otherwise? A spy; a base suborned wretch has hands as well as eyes and tongue. He can use a dagger, as well as a pen. The people of this country have seen with what haste she fled from St. Omers, not to Calais, but through Calais, down the Pier, through the mud, and into an English Packet Boat. Nay, so much was she in dread of the effects of Bourbon Hospitality, that she had formed the resolution of crossing the channel in an *open boat*, rather than run the risk of remaining another twelve hours within the reach of a Bourbon battery. The people have observed all this, and they have contracted the firm conviction, that for her Majesty to go out of England, would be to go directly to the grave.

I must confess that there is one thing, which has given great pain to the public; namely, the answer given in her Majesty's name to the *Nottingham address*. This answer I never can believe to have been dictated by her Majesty. Whoever advised it, be he who he may, *is one of the greatest enemies that she has*. Nothing that can be imagined could have done her cause more injury, if the people could possibly believe

that it came from herself. But my real opinion is, and I think I have good grounds for that opinion, that her Majesty never saw that answer; and that she never entertained the thought which it expresses. To be sure, it would be very imprudent in her Majesty to suffer any thing to come from her that should meddle at all with subjects of political dispute. Those who address her must either be very foolish, or something worse, to drag political subjects into their addresses; but if they should happen to do it, her Majesty should pass it over in silence; and surely none but her bitterest enemies will advise her to give her cordial and disinterested friends that species of rebuke which her advisers have never counselled her to bestow upon her enemies. I repeat, that whoever advised the answer to the Nottingham address, was a crafty and subtle enemy of the Queen and of the people; and I venture to predict, with perfect confidence, that, if her Majesty continue to listen to such advisers, her cause is completely ruined, and that she will speedily be left wholly destitute of support.—However, her Majesty will soon see the tendency of this pernicious advice, and will discard it accordingly.

In conclusion, I will not stop to ask you how you could reconcile it to any principles of morality, or even of humanity, to wish to see her Majesty again driven from our shores; but, I cannot put an end to this letter without observing on the con-

duct of the dotard faction, which has now, for the fiftieth time, perhaps, caught hold of a something, which they seem to think will get them into those places, for which they have grown old and shrivelled, and gouty heeled in waiting; but which they will never fill, no not even now, when the Ministers stand convicted in their own words of having actually done that, which must necessarily injure the best interests of the country; not even now will that dotard faction be able to wriggle itself into place; for, hostile as the Ministers are to the Queen, the part which they have taken against her is less insincere, and, if possible, less ungenerous than the part taken by the hungry and dotard faction to which I have alluded. Her Majesty will be upon her guard, I trust, against the eves-droppings, the traps, the under-hand dealings of that faction; who, while they endeavour, while they anxiously labour to embarrass, to annoy and to supplant the Ministers, take special care not to let drop one word favourable to her Majesty's cause; and also take special care to say as much as prudence will let them say, in order to create in a certain quarter, an opinion that they (clever gentlemen!) would have managed the thing better! They could not have managed the thing better, unless they had let it altogether alone. And, if they were now to take the matter in hand, they would soon find, that the detestation they would bring upon them, would find but a poor compensation in

the emoluments and honours that they might gain. Her Majesty, I repeat it, has had but one speech made for her, and that was the speech of Sir Francis Burdett, who attacked the Ministers for their conduct; who apologized for feelings which sycophants might have engendered in the bosom of the King; who defended the Queen upon broad, fair, and honest grounds, and who awarded to the Green Bags detestation in the mind of every man untainted by selfish or other unworthy motives.

There has been brought forward by the faction to which I have alluded, the doctrine of *non-recrimination*! This is very curious. It is a large voluntary offering. According to this doctrine, her Majesty is to bring no proof to shew that her accusers are *criminal themselves*! This is a thing well worthy of notice; but I notice it at present only as an offering tendered by the faction, and, in order to illustrate what the faction's views are with regard to the cause of the Queen. Her Majesty should keep this offering steadily in her eye; and if she do that, she will be in no danger of being misled by the

agents, whether foolish or knavish, belonging to that faction. If her Majesty will observe a little narrowly, the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, she will easily perceive what that superannuated faction would be at. She will perceive that that paper, while it makes use of her Majesty's cause wherewith to endeavour to annoy and discredit the Ministers, does, at the same time, very broadly hint that the Ministers are unworthy of their places, only because they have not taken care to do the job in such a way as to hood-wink the people. This newspaper, which is a most faithful representative of the faction which it serves; a literary dotard, selfish, conceited, empty and superlatively dull; hypocritical, canting, cowardly, cruel, and endeavouring, at all times, to skulk out of responsibility for oppressions, which, in fact, it encourages, and does all that it can to perpetuate: this newspaper will, if her Majesty attend to it, make her shun, as she would shun the pestilence, the advice of that battered faction of which I have been speaking, and in which no description of his Majesty's sub-

jects has the smallest degree of confidence.

There were persons, and persons to whom I myself was willing to listen, who thought that there were men belonging to this faction; some few men, at any rate; who would take a gallant part in this interesting question, a question which calls forth good feelings from every man whose nature admits of such feelings. I have waited with great patience, to see if such gallant man would make his appearance. I have waited in vain, however; and I am quite satisfied that the faction are not in the smallest degree less enemies of her Majesty than are her accusers themselves.

I now conclude, Sir, with observing, that the part you have taken, with regard to her Majesty, will have done what I deem an infinite service to the country. That which I have never been able completely to accomplish with regard to you, you have now accomplished yourself. The people whom you saw at Portman-street, gave you a fair specimen of the feelings of this whole nation. It was not a meeting of Radicals; it was not

a Church and King mob; it was not a crowd of people called together by hunger, and declaring war upon bakers and butchers; it was not one of those meetings called together by publicspirited men who have been denominated "*Demagogues*;" it was not a crowd collected by "*evil-minded and designing individuals*," so often designated and calumniated of late years: it was a promiscuous assemblage of the people of the metropolis, called together and tutored solely by their own feelings, who had come to witness a Deputation from the House of Commons waiting upon the Queen with advice. It is calumny; it is audacious impudence; it is the foulest and most poisonous slander to insinuate that this was not a *loyal* assemblage; and from this loyal assemblage you heard what the people of England thought of the Deputation and of its object. All that I have to wish, is, that you may have clearly understood what you then heard, and that you may have reason to remember that day to the last moment of your life.

WM. COBBETT.

DEBATE

In the House of Commons upon the Queen's rejection of their advice.

June 26, 1820.

THE QUEEN.

LORD CASTLEREAGH rose. In calling the attention of the House to the condition in which it stood, after the proceedings which were had at the close of the last week, and particularly after what had occurred at the last meeting of the House, and considering that the order of the day relative to his Majesty's message stood for discussion this night, he must fairly own to the House what was his opinion upon the situation in which it now stood. After all the efforts which had been made, and to which, he trusted, the House would consider that his Majesty's government had lent itself with the utmost readiness and anxiety, he thought that the House would now feel that every hope which could have entered into his mind at any time, and in whatever degree he might have ventured to entertain that hope (although he had always expressed himself with the utmost caution as to the final result), he thought that the House must now consider that every effort which had been made on the part of his Majesty's government, and, what was more, upon the part of parliament itself, had been at length exhausted, and that they could look to the termination of this painful subject in no other light than as a judicial proceeding. He thought they would feel that it now only remained for them

to put both parties, with as little delay as possible, in that situation which they must occupy, pending the course of a judicial inquiry. Any thing which he should now say would be offered upon this principle, and he should feel it his duty to mention every thing which he conceived it necessary to suggest, in order to enable the House to come to its decision. He wished therefore very shortly to call their attention to what had been the mode of proceeding up to the present time; and to state what was now the precise and actual condition in which the proceeding before the House stood. When he should have briefly submitted these two points to the House, it would better understand the course to be pursued. From the moment that his Majesty's government felt that it would be their duty, in the event of her Majesty's returning to this country, to communicate that information to the House which now laid upon its table, they framed the line of their proceeding upon what they considered the most parliamentary course, and the one most consonant to the principles of justice. If his Majesty's government indeed had asked the House to adopt the measures which had been recently proposed by the honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Wilberforce), it was from no disposition on their part to shrink from any other form of proceeding, or to evade the examination of these charges, if the House should decide that examination was the course to

be ultimately pursued. The mode of proceeding adopted by his Majesty's government did in fact proceed upon what he conceived to be the soundest principles of parliamentary practice. They acted under this feeling---that although they would be far from disposed to shrink from such an examination of the charges they had presented to the House, or from any measure which should bring those charges, at present upon the table, in a distinct and intelligible shape before them, supported by such evidence as they were in possession of; yet government did conceive, that parliament would not think itself warranted (as it had never been its habit to do so) to receive charges of this nature, and more especially when they concerned a party of such illustrious rank as the Queen of these realms, unless parliament was in possession of some evidence which should satisfy it that there was sufficient to found a *prima facie* case for inquiry or examination. It did appear to his Majesty's government that it was an act of too serious and responsible a nature to receive from any individual charges of this character, in order to bring them under the notice of parliament, unless they first of all enabled parliament to ascertain whether there were *prima facie* grounds for entertaining such charges. And, with the same caution which parliament had always exercised, that House had always required of government, by some means, and, if necessary, by other

means than a committee,) to put it in possession, as far as possible, of all the facts out of which the charges grew; and the practice was, that no such measure as a measure of inquiry, or any other to which he had alluded, should be gone into, until such information had been given to the House. The object in proposing the appointment of a secret committee was to bring the whole case in detail before the House; it was not to be considered as a judicial proceeding complete in itself; but merely as that species of *ex parte* inquiry which parliament might require before it received a grave charge against a personage so illustrious. He had no hesitation in avowing that a motive, and a powerful motive with the ministers in suggesting a secret committee, was with a view to the possibility of averting a more extended and public investigation. They conceived that, as long as the subject was in a course of examination before both Houses of Parliament, satisfactory arrangement would be more within reach than if the first step on the part of the Crown had been more decisive and direct. But during the late discussions the case had undergone an important alteration. The first adjournment had been proposed and agreed to, that an effort might be made to prevent the necessity of any proceeding at all, by some compromise of a nature satisfactory to the feelings and wishes of all parties. It was perfectly true, that in the earlier stages her Majesty had been advised to protest against what

had been called a secret inquiry; and in her first communication to the House, in the form of a message, she called upon it to take measures that her conduct might be examined directly and openly, and that she should be informed of the nature of the charges against her, as well as of the evidence by which they were supported. Very recently, also, in answer to the application of the House, to which he should afterwards again advert, her Majesty had renewed her appeal to the justice of Parliament, and more peremptorily, or at least in more solemn terms, had called herself "an accused and injured Queen." It would not be forgotten, that on the first night of the discussion the subject was adjourned, in the hope of an amicable termination of existing differences; and although it failed in the first instance, the object of the intermediate postponements had been, if possible, to render needless any inquiry, whether secret or open. The opinion of the House had been carried up to her Majesty, and no doubt many hon. gentlemen had persuaded themselves of a more favourable conclusion: without attempting to cast blame upon any quarter, he might say, that something was fairly anticipated from the disposition professed by the Queen to yield to the judgment of Parliament. It had been thought, that from the moment her legal character and dignity as Queen were satisfactorily recognized—from the moment her rank and honour had ceased to be implicated—that all other

matters would be secondary and subordinate, and that she would be willing to submit to the arbitration of one or more respectable individuals, regarding the questions of reception, patronage, and income. In favour of this supposition the House had given its solemn judgment; and if it were not confirmed by an unanimous vote, its opinion was expressed certainly in as authoritative a manner (authoritative he meant, as marking the strong sense of the great majority of the House upon the subject) as it had perhaps ever been evidenced towards any branch of the illustrious family to which the Queen belonged. It was not, he believed, saying too much to state, that the records of the country might be searched in vain for any approach by the House to a member of that illustrious family, or to any individual connected with the throne, more calculated to conciliate the feelings. The House, by its resolutions of Thursday last, had taken upon itself the task of deciding on public grounds, and had professed its readiness, on behalf of the character and reputation of her Majesty, to be responsible to posterity. He did not mean to allude to her Majesty's refusal in a tone of reproach; but the House would feel, that if on public considerations it had thought fit to claim from the Crown any concession of the views it had been advised by its responsible servants to entertain, with a regard to national interests, as important as those referred to by his hon. friend (Mr. Wilber-

force) on the previous night, the Crown could scarcely have hesitated as to the course it must pursue. If the King had been recommended to disregard the opinion of the House, so decisively expressed, would it not have demanded who was the minister that had suggested a course so opposite to the wishes of Parliament, and so injurious to the dignity of the Crown, and to the best interests of the country? (*Cheers.*) It was, however, one among the many occasions on which the excellency and beauty of our constitution might be held up to admiration, that while the Crown could not act in a manner so directly in the face of the House of Commons, her Majesty, under the responsible character belonging to her advisers, was competent to reject the appeal of Parliament. (*Hear, hear.*) That the Queen had been unfortunately ill-advised (*hear*)—that she might repent, for the sake of the country as well as for herself, the advice she had followed ---was a question he should be sorry to be understood to pronounce upon. (*Hear, hear, from the Opposition Benches.*) Certain it was, that the most serious and solemn appeal ever made to a member of the Brunswick family had in this instance proved unavailing; and the House must feel that it had exhausted every thing in the way of the exertion of its influence and authority; and that the only course, consistent with its dignity and the principles on which it had acted, was now to consider how it could put in

a train of judicial investigation those charges, an inquiry into which it had made one of the greatest efforts in the history of parliament to avert. He felt that her Majesty, by her answer, had renewed her claim upon the House for a complete investigation of the case: the question was therefore materially altered; and it became the ministers of the Crown, if Parliament would receive from them a direct proposition for exhibiting these charges in a shape in which her Majesty could no longer doubt as to their nature, or the evidence sustaining them, as far as possible to comply with her Majesty's appeal to British justice. It became the imperative duty of ministers, or at least of those to whom the appeal of the Queen had been addressed, to make themselves the instruments of that direct proceeding which her Majesty had claimed, as most likely, under the view she took of the subject, to accomplish the ends of justice. Having thus stated the grounds of the original proceeding, and the actual situation in which the House was placed, he should endeavour to explain what course, in the view of ministers, would best meet her Majesty's wishes. The House would, no doubt, have remarked one expression in her Majesty's answer, which supposed the possibility that the decision to which she had come might produce a feeling of dissatisfaction, if not of resentment. But he was sure, that so far from there being any disposition in the House of Commons, on that account, to pursue a course

unacceptable to her, or not calculated to give the Queen the fullest benefit of the principles of eternal justice, it would, on that very account, be most anxious, by its actions, to guard against the remotest suspicions of the kind. He was prepared on the present occasion to give notice of a motion, which he should found upon her Majesty's answer to the resolutions of Thursday last, although he was sure that the House could not expect him to enter into a description of its precise nature and object: it would have this distinct character—that it would be calculated to put her Majesty, the House, and the country, in possession of the charges involved in the information upon the table. If it should please the House to entertain such a proceeding, without going through the preliminary form of ascertaining whether a *prima facie* case existed, his motion would have this characteristic of the proceeding which her Majesty called for, viz. that it would be a proceeding completely open in its character, and it would be, necessarily, the duty of those submitting such a case to follow it up by producing the evidence to support it. The only circumstance which would govern his proposition, with respect to the day on which it was to be brought forward, was one which, from the very outset, had influenced the conduct of ministers, and would have influenced it if the measures had taken their original shape. He must so far advert to what had already

passed, as to mention that government had felt, in the first instance, that a reference of the subject to the consideration of the two Chambers of Parliament, who might possibly come to contradictory decisions, might introduce a considerable awkwardness; or, if the two committees agreed in the proposition that a *prima facie* case existed, a doubt might still remain as to the question from which branch of the legislature any ulterior proceeding should take its rise. Nothing could be more open to objection, nothing more embarrassing and prejudicial to the best interests of justice, than that two proceedings of a judicial character should be conducted at the same time. (*Hear, from the Opposition benches.*) Of course he did not mean to confound a *prima facie* inquiry with an investigation into merits; and he felt some pity for the intellects of those who did confound them. He thought that there could not be two opinions regarding two contemporaneous inquiries: and he hoped to have some of the cheerers on his side, when he said that nothing could be more absurd than to have a judicial proceeding conducted in both Houses at the same time. (*Hear, hear.*) If, then, both reports had concurred that ulterior measures were indispensable, the question would necessarily have arisen, where those measures were to originate? He hoped the House would not suppose, that, in what he was about to say, he was inclined to undervalue its capacity to discharge any of those

judicial functions which at times formed most important branches of its duty: but he had no hesitation in stating, as far as his judgment and that of government could have influenced the decision, that he should have recommended the House of Commons, after making its report, to wait a reasonable time, to ascertain what steps might be adopted in the other House of Parliament. If these steps appeared calculated to satisfy the ends of justice, they would originate with many advantages elsewhere, and upon no grounds more than that the House of Lords was a body in more judicial habits than the House of Commons; it would have been their function, also, to investigate the subject with more solemnity, and to submit all the evidence to the test of an oath. Government felt that it was a case of the most important nature: any charge affecting the Queen of these realms was too important to be submitted exclusively to one chamber only: for this reason, the communication had been made, in the first instance, to both; and the mode in which the proceeding would ultimately reconcile itself was, that after the previous and preliminary investigation, it would be more advantageous that the House of Commons should wait for such a proceeding as the Lords might think it right to institute. He, therefore, wished it to be understood, that in fixing a day for his intended motion, he should name one sufficiently distant to enable that House to ascertain

what proceeding should originate with the other branch of the legislature—sufficiently distant at least to give the House of Lords an opportunity of forming an opinion upon this most grave question. On the other hand, he should be reluctant to appoint a period which should appear to postpone the case beyond the time justice and necessity required; or needlessly to defer her Majesty's appeal, contained in the first instance in her message, and reiterated in her answer. Weighing these two considerations, he should propose Thursday se'nnight, when he should be prepared to offer a motion to the House, founded upon the answer of her Majesty to the resolutions of Thursday last: from that motion he should desist, if in the mean time the House of Lords commenced any judicial proceeding, which in its character must necessarily come under the view of the House of Commons. Having waited until the day he had mentioned, after all that had passed, after the broad avowal that the communication on the table contained matters of grave charge against the conduct and character of her Majesty, even if it should turn out to be the decision of the House of Lords not to adopt any ulterior measure, he should owe it, as a debt of justice to the Queen, to endeavour, as far as possible, to put these charges and the evidence in such a shape as would best tend to her Majesty's complete vindication. (*Cheers.*) He had now nothing further to submit, than to state what he conceived

the becoming course to be pursued on this occasion; and, under the new circumstances, to which he now already referred, he did not feel it at all incumbent upon him to adhere to the recommendation he had first suggested, on laying the King's message on the table. At her Majesty's call, he was prepared to take a course more consistent with her wishes.--- Whatever difficulty the House might have felt in the first instance, (and he thought the House ought not, without great reluctance, to have permitted any minister to put so illustrious a personage under charge, without the production of *prima facie* evidence,) it was in a great measure, he should hope, entirely relieved from it, by the repeated claims for open justice on the part of the Queen; and consistently with every principle of right, at the instigation of the individual chiefly concerned, it might permit that, which could not otherwise be allowed without a preliminary inquiry. The course he intended to suggest was this—that the debate on the King's message (the substance of which, in truth, was, that the House should proceed to decide on the manner in which it would investigate the matters on the table) should be farther adjourned until the day immediately subsequent to that on which he proposed to bring forward his motion. The effect of such an arrangement would be this—that if the House concurred in his proposition, supposing the other branch of the legislature to have

taken a direct proceeding in the mean time, it would supersede the necessity of instituting any inquiry here, either preliminary or direct. After a single other remark on the formal course of proceeding not distinctly audible in the gallery, his lordship adverted to the answer which he expected his proposition might receive from the other side of the House. He perceived that the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Tierney) was communicating with his learned friend on the subject: perhaps something had previously passed between them (*Hear, hear.*) Certainly he had heard that objections were to be made; but he had never conceived that it was within the scope of the right hon. gentleman's mind to bring forward such an objection as that to which he now alluded. He had heard it insinuated that the House, in the mode in which it had approached her Majesty, and in the wording of its resolutions, had determined that the transactions, *ipso facto*, were buried in oblivion, and that no future steps, whether direct or preliminary, could be taken regarding the charges on the table. He alluded to the words at the close of the last resolution, that such an inquiry was "derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the country." True it was, that the House, by a majority of 391 to 121, had decided, that such an investigation was, if possible, to be avoided; but it had not determined that it ought not to be permit-

ted at all. The course of his hon. friend's (Mr. Wilberforce) speech was, that his motion was the last means of conciliation: and that, if it did not succeed, there was no alternative but inquiry. He wished to carry the resolutions to the illustrious personage concerned, as the last resort to avert an investigation painful and detrimental; but not for the purpose of extinguishing all inquiry. He (Lord Castlereagh) begged leave to say, that he drew exactly an opposite inference from the words he had quoted. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen on the other side did not seem to acknowledge that his argument was well founded: but he was prepared to contend, that these words were not only highly proper in themselves, but that they formed the justification of the reserve displayed by all parties; and particularly explained and illustrated the whole conduct of government, both prior and subsequent to the return of the Queen. Ministers were satisfied in their minds and consciences that their most sacred duty to their sovereign, and their country, was never to bring this subject before Parliament, if, by any management or effort on their part, consistent with honour and propriety, they could avoid it. An individual of the illustrious rank of Queen of these realms could not be placed in a situation of charge, without injury to the dignity of the crown, and the best interests of the country, whatever might be the result. Every exertion of a prudential kind had, therefore, been

employed to prevent the communication to Parliament at all; but ministers were left without a choice, by the precipitate return of the Queen, to claim the full advantages of her rank. Every effort thus failed; every delicacy they had shown to supersede the necessity of disclosure, and to throw a veil over the transactions referred to in the papers on the table, had been disappointed. Even after the return of her Majesty, when Parliament was told that she was disposed to listen to their authoritative voice, (and it was not too much for her Majesty to consider the voice of Parliament authoritative, and its exertions as likely to protect her honour and character as the arbitration of any private individual,) his Majesty's government had shown every disposition to accommodate. If, after all these endeavours, her Majesty were still determined to drive the question to a public inquiry, he trusted that neither in reason, nor in common sense, would any man attribute to his hon. friend, who served his country so usefully, disinterestedly, and ably, so extravagant and untenable a proposition, as that the resolutions he had proposed should at once put a stop to all future proceedings. His lordship trusted, therefore, that no more would be heard of such quibbling reasoning. He was confident that the manly mind of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Tierney) disavowed it. He trusted that the House was acquainted both with its situation and its duties: and that, however reluctantly the subject

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might be forced upon it, it would be determined to see the ends of justice accomplished.--- The calamity, indeed, had fallen upon the country---no honourable exertion had been able to avert it; and he hoped that Parliament would now resume its ancient character for dignity and moderation, and that, in the course of the distressing examinations which now appeared inevitable, the voice of party would sleep, and the efforts of faction be suspended. The House, as the great council of the nation, ought to be divested of all angry passions, and free from the influence of all personal interests. Most of all, he hoped that that tone of feeling would be absent, which, though it might belong to politics, could not belong to justice. (*Cheers.*) Upon all these grounds, he felt it his duty to give notice, that on Thursday se'nnight he would charge himself with bringing forward a specific motion, founded on her Majesty's message, if, in the mean time, a proceeding of a judicial character should not have been commenced in the other House of Parliament.--- With a view not to embarrass the counsels of the House, on the question whether preliminary inquiry should or should not be undertaken, he intended to postpone his proposition on that subject until Friday se'nnight. His lordship concluded by stating, that in what he had suggested he had been influenced only by a desire to meet her Majesty's claim for justice.---The question was then put, that the further debate on the

King's message be adjourned to Friday se'nnight.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, it was with the utmost sincerity, and from the bottom of his heart, that he joined in the appeal made by the noble lord. He implored all sides of the House, from that day thenceforth, during the whole course of that investigation which was now inevitable, to let the voice of party sleep. He conjured them to suffer no feeling of a political nature, no shadow, to cross their path towards the ends of substantial justice. (*Hear, hear.*) On the part of her Majesty he had to express his infinite satisfaction---a satisfaction which was but the reflected image of her own---that at length justice was to be administered according to law, and on the principles of the constitution; that they were to hear no more of the dark, inquisitorial, unjust, and, as he should say, illegal proceedings, which in the first instance they had been invited to adopt. (*Hear, hear.*) There was at length an end of that species of inquiry which it was the tendency of the message, and of the bag, to cause to be instituted against the illustrious person to whom their contents applied. Her claim from the first had been for open investigation,--her protest against an invisible tribunal. For the course which was now to be pursued he had not to express any gratitude to the noble lord, but he had to felicitate himself, and to thank parliament and the country for their unanimous desire, that the former mode of proceeding

should be abandoned. He must now be permitted to make a few observations on what had fallen from the noble lord on this occasion. Often as it had been his lot to admire the talents of the noble lord, he had never before known his abilities, his subtilty or his dexterity displayed to greater advantage. The course to be taken was not, it appeared, rendered necessary by the message, or as a mode of dealing with the bag; it did not even arise out of the claims of justice, and was founded on no plea of state necessity. The House was now called upon to go into an inquiry, because her Majesty had on Saturday last said that she defied all public investigation, that she dreaded only secret proceedings, and threw herself with confidence on parliament and the country for a trial according to the principles of the constitution. Had the noble lord forgotten that she had said as much before, and that precisely similar sentiments were contained in the message which he had had the honour to bring down from her? In that message were the following words:--"It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her Majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to court the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her--a privilege not denied to the humblest

subject of the realm." Did not the noble lord hear, then, a fortnight ago, of the existence of this disposition on her Majesty's part? She had defied, courted, challenged, he might say demanded, a public scrutiny. Something, however, had recently occurred, and had removed all the difficulties of the noble lord in acceding to these applications. It was now discovered not to be quite right to proceed to the trial of a Queen by a secret tribunal--that it was in fact, a violation of justice, at the outset, to commence proceedings in that form. But every thing was now represented to be easy and regular, because the Queen had courted inquiry, and the gallantry and politeness of the noble lord could no longer withhold it. He must repeat, that of all the specimens of the noble lord's merits, as a tactician, either in debate or with respect to measures, the present seemed to be the most signal. With the change, however, which had taken place, her Majesty was perfectly satisfied, and fearlessly prepared to stand or fall by the consequences. Whatever the noble lord might have heard from his right hon. friend (Mr. Tierney), he could assure the House, it had not been communicated to himself. It was not often indeed that upon points arising out of this subject he and his right honourable friend held any conversation. All that had passed between them in relation to it might be compressed into three sentences, and these neither important nor confiden-

tial. The noble lord had chalked out the line which they were to follow in no very distinct manner; but as the proceeding was to be left dependent on what might take place elsewhere, some degree of vagueness was perhaps unavoidable. It had been said that her Majesty was the first Brunswick who had turned a deaf ear to the addresses of Parliament, and it was added, that the late vote might be called almost unanimous. Doubtless it was a vote in which 391 of the members had concurred, and if to them were joined those, amongst the minority of 124, who voted with it merely from peculiar opinions respecting the question of the Liturgy, the whole number of members anxious to avert inquiry was considerably more. The desire to avert inquiry was built on the declared belief, that whichever way it might terminate, it must be "disappointing to the hopes of parliament, derogatory from the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the nation." These words the noble lord had endeavoured to explain away, and to shew that a new and painful necessity had been imposed upon them by the Queen's answer to their address. Her Majesty certainly had no objection to this inference; but the House ought to pause a moment, and examine the true force of such expressions. They had pronounced their opinion, that an inquiry—whether needless or necessary, was not then the question—must be injurious, if not fatal. It had excited his

astonishment that the noble lord should be the first to concur with this resolution. One day the noble lord brought down a sealed bag; and upon another, instead of withdrawing it, lent his support to another motion, the object of which was to dismiss it. (*Hear.*) It was not for him to consider whether the House was prepared or not to acquiesce in the necessity stated by the noble lord to arise out of the circumstances which had occurred. If the necessity did exist, it might be traced to one single act—that of her Majesty's arrival in England. On no other ground could it be placed, and they could not forget that they were asked to declare that to be necessary, which only a few days ago they had declared must be all but ruinous to the country. With regard to the failure of their address, whether her Majesty's answer was wise or unwise, he should not stop to inquire. He could safely and conscientiously give his solemn assurance—and he gave it not for the purpose of exculpating where no charge was brought, or of shrinking from a responsibility which he would rather court, but for the Queen's character and honour—that her legal advisers had laid before her all their views of the whole question; that, before she returned an answer to the address, they had submitted every consideration which a knowledge of what had passed in parliament, and during the negotiations, suggested to their minds; that every fact and every circumstance had been minutely

stated, and a conviction expressed, that a refusal to comply with the wishes of the House must lead to a full investigation of the case. With all this information and these suggestions before her, her Majesty, with a fearlessness, which, in the history of human action, nothing but conscious innocence ever inspired, expressed her deliberate, her unbiassed, and resolute determination to abide by the consequences of the step which she was taking. He hoped the House would not be disposed to judge hastily or harshly because compliance had been refused with their request. If her Majesty was the first Brunswick who had so refused, she was the first Brunswick and the first Queen in this country, or in Christendom, who had been placed in so peculiar a situation. (*Hear, hear.*) How different were the votes and addresses of the House to former Queens! Even when not complimentary, or expressing something else than congratulations or condolence—as when they solicited some change of council, or the dismissal of some favourite servant—how different in their effect. Her Majesty felt that she was asked to dismiss a regard for her own honour. The honour of a man ought not to be made matter of negotiation, but still less could female honour be subjected to truck and barter. He made these remarks in extenuation, if they could not be received as a complete vindication by those who heard him. They had been in a manner repulsed by her Majesty, and were

in the situation of offended persons. They were, nevertheless, in a few days to become the judges of her conduct. If he had implored them before to lay aside all partial feelings, with equal reason might he now make suit to them to dismiss from their minds even yet more peremptorily every feeling of offence. (*Hear, hear.*) It seemed that the noble lord was about to introduce some legislative measure on this subject; whether of this description or not, it must lead necessarily to an investigation. In whatever way it should be proposed to conduct this delicate proceeding, he must put in his claim to some delay on the part of her Majesty. In mentioning the word “delay,” he knew how open it was to misconstruction. The Queen was in fact anxious to proceed, and deprecated all unnecessary loss of time. But justice required that some interval should be allowed. It was 3 weeks’ journey to her Majesty’s place of residence in Italy, and to the same time for returning must be added the time requisite for collecting evidence. He put it to the honour and justice of the House to consider that, if they proceeded on Thursday se’nnight, either by motion or by bill, to go into evidence and open the bag, there was no security that such evidence would be kept secret. The public would either know the whole, or, what was perhaps worse, hear only fragments of the case against her Majesty. How would any man like to have the honour of his female relatives placed in the keeping of

35 gentlemen, who had wives and daughters filled with a natural solicitude to learn a little of what was going forward? Something would certainly creep out through the many orifices which would be open on this occasion, (*a laugh*) and circulate, especially the venom of it, more or less extensively. Let any man then suppose himself in her Majesty's situation, or in that of her Majesty's friends, and he would easily imagine the fatal effects to character which might thus ensue. The claim then, which he put in, was a claim of paramount justice; it was simply to enable her Majesty to place immediately in position with the case against her the evidence for her acquittal. It was to guard against the prejudices which might arise from the long impression of a charge heard *ex parte*, and against the probability of its being divulged, that he made this application on her part. The House would observe that it would not delay the ultimate result; judgment would be pronounced just as soon; and all he asked was, that the two parts of the trial should go together. In considering this appeal he trusted that every gentleman would lay it to his heart, being convinced that the more it was considered, the deeper would be its impression. The honourable and learned gentleman concluded by again congratulating the House and the country that the open inquiry which her Majesty had never feared, but anxiously sought, was about to be instituted.

Speech of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, on Thursday, June 22, 1820.

Sir F. BURDETT said, it was not his intention to go over any of those topics which had already been urged by other honourable members with much greater ability than he possessed. It was his wish to approach this question with an unprejudiced mind, and whilst he claimed justice for that party that stood most in need of justice, he should carefully avoid saying any thing that might be construed into a want of respect to the Crown on this very painful occasion. He conceived that the honourable member for Bramber had taken a very erroneous view of the present question, and he begged leave, in the most unequivocal manner, to dissent from the dilemma in which the hon. gent. considered the House to be placed, viz. that they must either agree to his proposition or some other mode of conciliation, or they must go into an inquiry respecting the contents of the green bag. (*Hear.*) To this proposition he could not agree; nay, so far were they from being placed in such dilemma, that he thought it was not possible for the House, if they consulted at all their own character—if they consulted the dignity of the Crown—if they consulted the interests of the family on the throne, or those of the public, to consent that this green bag should be opened. (*Hear.*)—Much had been said about omitting her Majesty's name in the Liturgy; but whether that act

was legal or not, seemed to be a matter of inferior importance; for at one time to-night they had been told that the omission was not intended as an insult, and a sort of apology had been made for it by the noble lord, as not implying any degradation; but, soon after, the noble lord had contradicted that statement by saying, that it was impossible not to omit her Majesty's name, (*hear,*) as it was intended to bring certain charges against her on this evidence---evidence to which no man of honour could attach the smallest importance. It appeared that ministers had held out a threat to their Queen in one hand, and a bribe in the other. (*Hear.*)---They have denounced a threat which she must have supposed to affect her life, for she could not be supposed to have been acquainted with these technicalities of law of which ministers were well aware, and by which she could not be prosecuted as a principal in treason; and, on the other hand, they offered a bribe, to be paid at the expense of the public. She, however, had adopted a course of conduct so magnanimous, as to raise her in all men's minds, and which afforded such presumption of her innocence (to use the expression of the hon. member below him), as rendered it as doubtless as the valour of the Duke of Wellington; she had been told, that the moment she set foot on English ground, this evidence would be brought forward: yet the first step she took on receiving this notification was to hasten to

this country, and face her accusers. Immediately on her arrival the King's ministers sent down a green bag to Parliament. If they advised the King to that act, they were bound to go on with the investigation without any pause whatever; for, if there remained an alternative, they were not justified in the course they had adopted. (*Hear.*) Let the House look at the treatment which this illustrious lady had experienced from her first arrival in this country---cut off from the protection of those whose duty it was to protect her---deprived of that controul which she had a right to exercise---allowed no intercourse with her family or with her child; and if, under such circumstances, when goaded by insult, and driven almost to madness, she had acted improperly, no man who harboured a principle of honour in his breast but would shed a tear for her misfortunes---but he would not at the same time pursue her with the arm of vengeance, under the mask of mercy. (*Loud cheers.*) But who could tell by what tales the Royal ear has been poisoned? Who could tell what had been the conduct of busy go-betweens augmenting every vile story, collected from sources as vile and impure as themselves? Who could tell what degree of irritation had been excited in the Royal mind by base persons of that description? Filled with prejudice as his Majesty's mind had doubtless been by such agents, and with a feeling of anger, he must say, unworthily

set up in his breast against a woman, but basely pardoned to by those who should have given different advice, some excuse was to be found for the conduct of his Majesty. But ministers had no such apology; there was nothing to deprive them of calmness of mind, and discretion of judgment; and therefore if they saw that officious and worthless persons were poisoning the King's mind with respect to his wife, and not endeavour to prevent or counteract the evil; but more especially if they had, on this occasion, yielded any thing to the passion of the King (*hear, hear*), then had they been to him the worst of traitors. (*Loud cheers.*) That they had not given him proper advice, was evident from their own conduct. When they advised this message, and the green bag that accompanied it, to be brought down to Parliament, it ought to have made no difference in their minds, whether the Queen remained abroad or not; they were bound by their duty to the King, and to the country, to pursue a steady course, without any alteration of their views in consequence of her presence or her absence. But, on the contrary, they told her, that if she continued to live abroad, she might with impunity act in such a manner as to bring disgrace on the King and country; but if she came to England to trouble them, then it would be imperative on the noble lord, as an honest man, to bring down a green bag. (*Hear, hear, hear*). He was sure it was the general

feeling of the House that this bag should never be opened, whatever insinuations ministers might throw out respecting its contents; for as soon as they admitted that the matter was negotiable, that moment there was an end of their whole case, as far as concerned the public. The honourable member who had opened the debate---he did not know whether the honourable gentleman was in the secret of the ministry (*hear*)---had said, that the contents of the bag were so horrible that they would pollute the whole country; that, if it was opened, no modest family could venture to look at a public paper; that such a deluge of filth would be poured from it, as would stifle the morality of the nation (*hear*). He did not think that this was a likely way of giving a high notion of the royal dignity, or of supporting the character of the King or of the Queen, whatever might be the opinion of the honourable member for Corfe-Castle, who had so strenuously urged the necessity of supporting the royal dignity at the present moment. On the contrary, he thought that any person desirous of bringing disgrace on the King and the country, could not take a more effectual mode of accomplishing that object. He believed, however, that the green bag was as false as it was filthy (*a laugh*); but, whether false or true, it did not signify one straw, (*hear*). He maintained that, whether true or false, it could not be gone into, for there was no public interest concerned in it; or, if there

had been any, ministers had shown themselves very willing to sacrifice it, (*hear*). He had a right to assume from their conduct, that the whole filth which now lay on their table had been collected for the purpose of being exhibited *in terrorem* against the Queen, and therefore he protested against the opening of this Pandora's box. An honest minister would have thrown a veil over such statements as this bag was said to contain, and would have deprecated their promulgation; but the resolution of the present ministers was, that all this poison, which would prevent any modest female from looking into a public paper, was to be diffused over the country, if the Queen came to England. Ministers were willing to grant her money, if she would stay away; but, having rejected their offer with contempt, having come to this country in defiance of their denunciations, and having asserted that alone which she came hither to defend---her own honour---she would leave the kingdom with the same acclamations with which her arrival had been hailed. He believed the noble lord, when he said that he had never done any thing more painful than the bringing forward of this bag; but if ministers had, like statesmen, and like the honest men of whom the noble lord talked so much, advised the King, from a sense of duty, to adopt this course of proceeding, they would have persevered in it with inflexible resolution. The course on which the ministers had en-

tered should have been like the gates of hell:---

"Who enters here, leaves hope behind."

The minister, having screwed his courage up to such a proceeding, should have pursued it with undeviating constancy, even if he should have lost his head in consequence. (*Hear.*) Notwithstanding the sounding phrases which had been uttered about honour and principle, it appeared that public honour and public principle were to be given up, if the Queen would only relieve ministers from the embarrassment of her presence. But he (Sir F. Burdett) felt some parliamentary difficulty in the extraordinary mode of proceeding which was proposed. They were called on to address the Queen; and if she was to be treated with that respect, it was not, surely, too much to ask ministers to withdraw the stigma which they had cast upon her character; let either the green bag or the present motion be withdrawn. How any man could hold the bag in one hand, and vote for this motion with the other, he was at a loss to conceive. (*Hear, hear.*) But the hon. gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) had not told them what they were to do after the passing of this resolution, which by-the-by, implied guilt, and at the same time declared that there was no guilt. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. gentleman perhaps had not yet made up his mind on this point, (*a laugh*) and he would not press him to explain his intentions at too early a period. Suppose the Address voted,

he did not know whether it was intended to be carried up by his Majesty's ministers. (*A laugh.*) It was at all events an admission of her title to respect; and was *pro tanto* evidence against the green bag. But there was another consideration affecting the dignity of that House: what, if her Majesty should not choose to receive the Address; and, in fact, should not comply with it? (*Loud cheers.*) She had always been anxious to do what was wished by the House of Commons: she had thrown her life and her honour on them; and therefore there could be no doubt of her confidence in the integrity of the House, or of the deference which she was disposed to pay to its opinions. But, he would say for her in the words of the poet---

"To the liege lord of my dear native land,
"I owe a subject's homage; yet even him,
"And his high arbitration, I do reject.
"Within my bosom reigns another lord,
"—Honor, sole judge and umpire of my conduct."

This point she could not concede; especially, when the House asked it to get ministers out of a scrape---to enable them to sneak away with their green bag (*a laugh*); though he did not know whether they would carry it, for he believed no place was fit for a thing so nasty. The hon. bart. then proceeded to state, that if he supported the present motion, it was not by any means on the ground that the House was placed in that dilemma which the honourable member had de-

scribed. He protested against the proposed inquiry, from respect to the character of the Royal Family, and from a desire of seeing justice done to the Queen, and to the country. He saw nothing but disgrace and degradation attaching to the persons who brought this charge, and who stood convicted of attempting to compound a crime. To compound a felony was, by the statute law, the next offence to felony itself; but ministers were here compounding high treason, or something very like it. They had been acting like those wretches who extort money from honourable men, by charging them with crimes; and well might her Majesty have shrunk from the contents of that filthy and horrid bag, if she had not possessed ten times the nerve of the King's ministers. (*Hear.*) How durst ministers say that they would degrade their Queen? The question might perhaps by and by take a different turn, and the House might inquire how they had done their duty as privy councillors to the Crown and to the country? (*Hear.*) If understrappers in diplomacy had not thought that it was a merit to insult her, and if every indignity had not been studiously heaped upon her, she would not have troubled the King or the country. But supposing all the rumours which had been circulated to be true, where was the propriety of sending a herd of wretched spies and picklocks to bring over the evidence of them to this country? The first error

of ministers on this subject was their base compliance with the wishes of the King, which it was their duty to controul; and the next was, their coming down to the House of Commons to get rid of the responsibility which they had incurred (*hear*): they took a step which they could not re-tread, and then, having become alarmed at their own conduct, they stopped short, and threw the responsibility on Parliament. One half of the administration pursued the Queen for her vices and bad qualities; and the other half, the noble lord (Castlereagh) and his right honourable friend (Mr. Canning), who sat cheek-by-jowl, wished to punish her for her virtues and good qualities. The right honourable gentleman had expatiated in the most exaggerated terms on her amiable disposition and fascinating manners, and had declared the affection he entertained for her (*hear*), though he gave rather a strange proof of his affection. (*Hear*). The right honourable gentleman represented her as likely to become the grace, life, and ornament of every circle of society in which she moved; and therefore he did not wish her to remain in England, lest she should be made the tool of faction. This declaration was strange enough, when it was remembered that the only faction which ever made her an instrument was that to which the right honourable gentleman himself belonged. It was by that faction that the dissensions between the King and the Queen had first been occasioned, and by which she had been deserted after it had accomplished its base purpose. (*Hear*). But whatever might be the nature of the measures taken against the Queen, the mode which had been resorted to of sending her out of the country by means of the filth and dirt of a green bag, was certainly far below a person holding the dignified situation of the right honourable gentleman. After some farther observations, the honourable baronet concluded by declaring his belief, that, were her Majesty crimson dyed in guilt, as the green bag represented her, the people out of doors had such abhorrence to green bag information, that they would believe her pure and spotless as the snow. (*Loud cheers*.)